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. . . The Arbitration Group in the French Chamber of Deputies now numbers four hundred and three members. At the recent annual meeting of the Group, Senator d'Estournelles de Constant was reelected president, and Mr. de Freycinet was chosen honorary president in place of Mr. Waldeck-Rousseau.

. . . Walter S. Logan, who died in New York in July, was a strong, intelligent, outspoken friend of international justice, international arbitration and peace. He was for many years a familiar figure in the Mohonk Conferences, where his speeches were able expositions of the principles of right and law, as they have been developed by the Anglo-Saxon race. He pleaded strongly, and with a jurist's thoroughness, for the establishment of a judicial system, a reign of law, in international affairs, in place of the reign of force and violence. He was one of the celebrated Committee of the New York State Bar Association which drew up the plan for a permanent international tribunal which was sent to President Cleveland, to many public men in this and other countries, and was one of the efficient agencies that prepared the way for the establishment of the Hague Court of Arbitration. He did his work well, on a high plane.

. . . The *Evening Dispatch* of Columbus, Ohio, says that "to enter into competition with Great Britain or any other naval power in the building of giant battle-ships would be the height of folly," and is glad that enthusiasm for ships of the "Dreadnaught" type is dying down even among the officers of the navy.

. . . How often, since Tennyson wrote, in "Maud," his foolish panegyric on War, have we heard it said that war has at least the merit of cleansing the body politic from the commercial dishonesties of peacetime! Even if this were true, it would be a poor set-off against the overwhelming evils of warfare; but it happens to be the reverse of truth. Here is a suggestive paragraph from the report of the War Stories Inquiry (June 22):

Field-Marshal White: "We all know that after a campaign there must be losses."

General Sir Neville Lyttelton: "Yes, there is always a flood of dishonesty let loose in war time." — *The Humanitarian*.

. . . The Boston Central Labor Union, in a meeting held in Wells Memorial Hall on the 20th of August, entered its emphatic protest against the proposed naval demonstration on Labor Day, by the unanimous adoption of the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the Boston Central Labor Union enters its emphatic protest against the selection of Labor Day for a so-called naval demonstration, believing that it is in exceedingly bad taste to select a day devoted to pursuits of peace for a display advertising the latest improved methods for killing our fellow human beings.

"Resolved, That the secretary of this body send a communication to President Roosevelt asking that if it be deemed absolutely necessary to have a naval review, that some other than Labor Day be selected."

. . . The fortieth anniversary of the Universal Peace Union was held in the Peace Grove, Mystic, Conn., the 22d to 24th ult. Among the speakers were Dr. Homer B. Sprague of Newton; Christine Brown of Boston; James H. Earle of Boston; Hon. Wm. H. Berry, State Treasurer of Pennsylvania; Hon. A. J. Barchfield of Pittsburg; Rev. S. F. Hershey of Wooster, Ohio; Miss Caro-

lina Huidobro and Professor D. Batchellor. The dispatches indicate that the Convention was not so large as usual, and that the question has been raised of holding the Convention hereafter somewhere near Philadelphia.

### Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Speech at the London Inter- parliamentary Conference.

The important speech made by the British Prime Minister at the opening of the Interparliamentary Conference at London, July 23, to which allusion was made in our last issue, we here give in full as it was published in the *London Tribune*:

"It is my high privilege as the head of his Majesty's government to extend to you a most cordial welcome. I am delighted to see you, and it is with unfeigned satisfaction that I bid you welcome to England in the name of the British government and of the nation. Let me add that it gives me very great pleasure to receive you here at Westminster in behalf of the Mother of Parliaments, on whose hearthstone you, the representatives of a score of parliaments, are gathered. [Cheers.]

#### MESSAGE FROM THE KING.

"I have the honor to announce to you that I am authorized to welcome you in the name of the King, one of the earliest workers ('ouvrier de la première heure') in the cause of peace, who has expressed a special interest in this henceforth historic gathering. [Cheers.]

"The majority of you have not come here — and I think you will wish this to be understood — as the accredited delegates of your respective Parliaments. This gathering is unofficial. But you are here, if I read the times aright, in the fullest sense as the accredited representatives of your fellow-countrymen and women, and in this capacity you are entitled to express, with an authority attaching to no other assembly in the world, the conscience, the reason, and the sentiments of a large and not the least influential portion of the human race. In addressing you I feel that I am not so much speaking to the representatives of diverse states of Europe and America as to the exponents of principles and hopes that are common to us all, and without which our life on earth would be a life without horizon or prospect.

"With the purpose of your mission, let me say at once, his Majesty's government desire unreservedly to associate themselves. It is their hope that your deliberations will do much to promote a closer understanding between the nations. [Cheers.]

#### THE DESIRE FOR PEACE.

"You have indeed done much since the new century began to give shape and substance to the growing, the insistent desire that war may be banished from the earth. All of us, I suppose, can remember a time when such a gathering as this would have evoked the derision of those who call themselves practical men. [Laughter and cheers.] You would have been called dreamers, and your plans for substituting equitable arrangement for the license and ferocity of war would have been denounced as dangerous quixotry. Gentlemen, let us be charitable in our judgment of those misguided men and those dark ages. We are all creatures

of habit; and by habituating the world to the idea that peaceful arbitrament can adjust such differences as diplomacy has failed to solve, you have opened men's eyes, you have cleared their minds. [Cheers.]

PRESIDENT FALLIERES AND IDEAS.

"Let me recall the words addressed to your conference in 1900 by the distinguished man who is now the President of the French Republic:

"'Thanks to you, we are already far from the time when the idea of arbitration was considered a chimera or a too venturesome conception condemned by what it is the custom to call, wherever there is to be found an opposition without justification, "the wisdom of nations."

"'Nowadays facts have to be taken into account. Attempts which have proved successful can be pointed to in order to show that as with peoples so it is with men, and that with the former, as with the latter, there is no resistance which does not disappear in the end before the all-powerful influence of an idea when that idea draws its strength from the sacred well of fraternity.'

"Gentlemen, it must be a cause of delight and encouragement to you to feel that since those eloquent words were uttered a great step has been taken towards the realization of this ideal. I believe that there are in existence at present thirty-eight [forty-four — ED.] arbitration agreements between the different powers. These instruments have all been framed since October, 1903. Thanks to Lord Lansdowne, Great Britain has entered into agreements with ten powers, by virtue of which all legal questions arising between the two contracting powers and all questions relating to the interpretation of treaties, which diplomacy has failed to settle, are to be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague.

"Notwithstanding the proviso which debars a reference to arbitration of matters affecting the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting states, we may claim that the conclusion of these agreements is a solid and, I think it is not too much to say, a splendid achievement. [Cheers.]

"In these proceedings I may be permitted to repeat that Great Britain has borne a leading part. For we owe to the government of the late Lord Salisbury and to our delegates at the first Hague Conference the initiation of the permanent tribunal of arbitration. [Cheers.]

THE WORLD'S ARMAMENTS.

"Gentlemen, I fervently trust that before long the principle of arbitration may win such confidence as to justify its extension to a wider field of international differences. We have already seen how questions arousing passion and excitement have attained a solution, not necessarily by means of arbitration in the strict sense of the word, but by referring them to such a tribunal as that which reported on the North Sea incident; and I would ask you whether it may not be worth while carefully to consider, before the next Congress meets at The Hague, the various forms in which differences might be submitted, with a view to opening the door as wide as possible to every means which might in any degree contribute to moderate or compose such differences. [Cheers.]

"But, gentlemen, there is a dark side to the shield. We have to admit that, notwithstanding all the efforts in which governments and peoples have participated, no corresponding change has been wrought in the aspect of the world's armaments. Such change as there has been is

for the worse. Judging by the budgets of the great naval and military powers, we might be living in a world where resort to force was the only known method of settling our differences, and the words 'arbitration' and 'conciliation' were devoid of meaning.

THIS SINISTER PARADOX.

"You will not have forgotten the words of the Emperor of Russia in convening the first Hague Congress:

"'The financial charges consequent on this state of things strike at public prosperity at its very source. The intellectual and physical strength of the nations, labor and capital, are diverted from their natural application and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are devoted to acquiring terrible engines of destruction, which, though to-day they are regarded as the last word of science, are destined to-morrow to lose all value in consequence of some fresh discovery in the same field.'

"These words describe only too faithfully the position to-day, seven years after they were written. On the one hand, we find the reasoned opinion of Europe declaring itself more and more strongly for peace, and, on the other hand, preparations for war which in their extent and effectiveness suggest that a lust for blood is the actuating principle of modern society. It is this sinister paradox which baffles the will and lowers the self-respect of the Western world, and when we ask ourselves, as we are bound to do, whether the object of these preparations is attained, we encounter another paradox. The other day I observed that Lord Lansdowne, in discussing the growth of armaments, made use of a striking phrase. He said: 'The moment may come when the people of this country will prefer to eat their daily bread in fear rather than starve in security.'

THE PURSUIT OF A PHANTOM.

"But, gentlemen, can any of us say that as a result of such overwhelming sacrifices of money, of men, of ideals, and of civil dignity, the sense of security has indeed been attained? Is it not evident that a process of simultaneous and progressive arming defeats its own purpose? Scare answers to scare, and force begets force, until at length it comes to be seen that we are racing one against another after a phantom security which continually vanishes as we approach.

"If we hold with the late Mr. Hay that 'war is the most futile and ferocious of human follies,' what are we to say of the surpassing futility of expending the strength and substance of nations on preparations for war, possessing no finality, amenable to no alliances that statesmanship can devise, and forever consuming the reserves on which a state must ultimately rely when the time of trial comes, if come it must—I mean the well-being and vitality of its people? [Cheers.]

"Do not imagine that I wish to discourage you by contrasting the hard facts of the situation with the aspirations which we all share. That is the last thing that I have in my mind. I am not despondent about the future.

THE PEOPLE FOR PEACE.

"In the first place, it is only a few short years since peace was a wanderer on the face of the earth, liable at any moment to be trampled upon and despitely used; and if wars and preparations for wars have not ceased since she found a rest for the sole of her foot at The Hague, remember that time is needed for the growth of confidence in the new order of things, and that allowance

must be made for the momentum of the past which thrusts the old régime forward upon the new.

"Remember, too, that the people are on your side. [Cheers.] I know it is said that democracy is as prone to war as any other form of government. But democracy, as we know it, is a late comer on the world's stage, where it has barely had time to become conscious of its characteristic powers, still less to exert them effectively in its external relations.

"The bonds of mutual understanding and esteem are strengthening between the peoples, and the time is approaching when nothing can hold back from them the knowledge that it is they who are the victims of war and militarism; that war in its tawdry triumphs scatters the fruits of their labor, breaks down the paths of progress, and turns the fire of constructive energy into a destroying force. [Cheers.]

WELCOME TO DUMA'S REPRESENTATIVES.

"In this connection I cannot refrain from saying for myself, and I am sure for every one in this great and historic assembly, how glad we are to welcome among us to-day the representatives of the youngest of Parliaments — the Russian Duma. [Loud and prolonged cheering.] We deeply appreciate the circumstances of their appearance in our midst. It is, I venture to think, of good augury for your movement and for the future of Europe that the first official act of the Russian Parliament in regard to affairs outside the Russian Empire has been to authorize its delegates to come here to Westminster and to join hands with us in the assertion of those great principles of peace and goodwill which were so incalculably advanced by the head of the Russian State, the author and convener of the first Hague Congress.

"LONG LIVE THE DUMA!"

"I make no comment on the news which has reached us this morning; this is neither the place nor the moment for that. We have not a sufficient acquaintance with the facts to be in a position to justify or criticise. But this we can say, we who base our confidence and our hopes on the parliamentary system: new institutions have often a disturbed if not a stormy youth. The Duma will revive in one form or another. We can say with all sincerity, 'The Duma is dead; long live the Duma!' [Loud cheers.]

"The time is approaching, to which we are all looking forward with intense interest and anxious hope, when the delegates of your various nationalities will find themselves once again at The Hague, there to renew their labors in the cause of peace. I can only end as I began by wishing success to your deliberations. May they pave the way to far-reaching and beneficent action. [Cheers.]

EXAMPLE AND PRECEPT.

"Tell your governments when you return home — what the members of the British Parliament, whom I see before me, are never tired of telling me — that example is better than precept, that actions speak louder than words; and urge them in the name of humanity to go into the Hague Congress, as we ourselves hope to go, pledged to diminished charges in respect of armaments. Entreat them to go there with a belief in the good disposition of nations to one another, such as animates you, the members of a score of Parliaments, and may it be your great reward, when you next assemble a year hence,

to know that as a result of your labors the light of peace burns with a steadier and a more radiant flame." [Cheers.]

## The Formula for Disarmament.

*With Special Reference to the English Proposal of Disarmament.*

BY OTTO UMFRIED OF STUTTGART, VICE-PRESIDENT OF  
THE GERMAN PEACE SOCIETY.

*From the German.*

The first Hague Conference reached no satisfactory result in regard to the question of disarmament. It was nevertheless there recognized that the peoples feel as a heavy incubus the overgrown armaments, and that means should be sought for lightening the burden which presses so heavily upon them. Only the proper formula for disarmament, so it is said, had not yet been discovered.

Therefore the task of finding this formula was reserved for a subsequent determination. May this task be taken up hopefully by the second Hague Conference and a satisfactory solution brought forward. The signs of the time clearly indicate that Europe wishes to become united. Everything is urging the organization of our part of the world. The states of Europe desire to get out of the prevailing chaos and anarchy into a settled condition. That no one of them can get the advantage in the matter of armaments, that even the long-standing differences in number of vessels cannot be wiped out, is shown by the history of the last thirty years. For it is well-known that when, for example, a French warship is launched in Cherbourg, at the same time a similar one leaves the roadstead in Wilhelmshaven, and, whenever possible, on the same day two such "Mastodons," as Baron d'Estournelles has called them, are turned out in the harbor of Portsmouth.

In order to prevent misunderstanding, I must state one thing in advance. In my judgment disarmament cannot yet be made the starting point. The conclusion of an international treaty, in which the powers guarantee to one another the relative sizes of their armaments and define their spheres of interest outside of Europe, is the first thing to be done. Then disarmament will come of itself.

But an arrest of armaments has already come within the sphere of possibility. The former Prussian Minister of War, Von Goszler, has put forward the view that the ever-ascending development of armaments might be stopped, if the powers would guarantee each other one thing, namely, that in the meantime they would not attempt to settle with the sword any of the existing questions. The Rescript with which the Czar of Russia called together the first Hague Conference is well known, and likewise the classic way in which the fever of armaments which has seized the nations is therein described. As at that time the greatest land power came forward in behalf of disarmament and the brotherhood of the peoples, so now the call for a reduction of armaments comes from the greatest sea power.

What is the attitude of the other powers towards this proposal which has been brought before them with so great authority for the second time? Certain it is that a limitation of armaments would be welcomed to-day. But the question how has its difficulties. If there is a determination to remove the differences which actually exist in the national armaments, there is danger that